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ABSTRACT

This report describes an education voucher system and explains why such a system is needed. A history of education vouchers is given and the implication of vouchers is spelled out. A summary is then made of the historical antecedents of education vouchers. Jenck's model of vouchers is critically analyzed and placed in five dimensions: bureaucratic, financial, public, parental, and structural. Attention is given to typical implementation, innovative, legal, fiscal, and administrative problems. A "how to do it" accountability kit is used to sum up the document. (Author)

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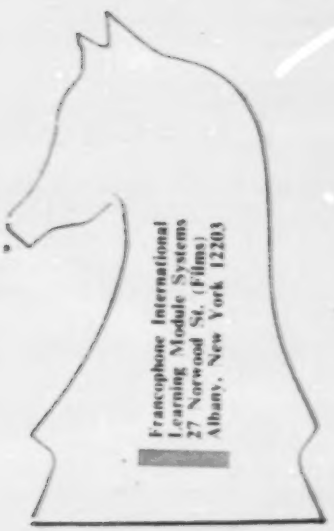

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SUMMARY

This report tries to answer two questions:

1-- What is an education voucher system?

2-- Why an educational voucher system given the fact that our current educational structures and institutions have done an exceptionally fine job of providing comprehensive educational opportunities for all American children?

Basically, an education boucher system is (1) a bureaucracy regulated (2) system of financing education (3) that used public funds and (4) parental choice (5) in a new structural arrangement. This tells what it is.

The same dimensions of its definition point out the answer to why:

1. The bureaucracy regulation is to provide equal educational opportunity to all children whether disadvantaged or affluent.

2. The precise method of financing advocated by the voucher system is designed to avoid any educational monolithic monopoly and to stimulate friendly competition that will lead to improvement of all education, public and nonpublic.

3. The voucher system tries to equally distribute both the collection of tax money destined for education and the distribution of such tax money per child.

4. Voucher system provisions for parental choice in education operate on the assumption that parents are in a better position than a board of education to decide on what is best for their child.

5. The new structures that will supposedly be stimulated by the voucher system operate on the assumption that what education needs most urgently is not only more money but more importantly the production of more educational results per dollar expended for education.

PART ONE

What is an Education Voucher System

System of Financing Education

Uses Public Funds

Allows Parental Choice of Schools

Establishes a Bureaucracy

Why An Education Voucher System

Improve Education Via:

Parental Choice/Consumer

Disadvantaged/Affluent

Competition/Monopoly

Enrollment Patterns

What Is An Education Voucher System

An education voucher system is a bureaucracy regulated system of financing education that uses public funds and parental choice in a new structural relationship.

Five elements can be noted in this definition:

1. bureaucracy regulated
2. system of financing education
3. that uses public funds and
4. parental choice
5. in a new structural pattern

System Of Financing

Obviously the education voucher system introduces changes into education.

These changes are in the "structure" of the educational process. It is basically an experiment, i.e., an examination and testing of alternative schemes of financing, controlling and managing schools and other educational institutions. After the "technology" revolution of the 1960's (e.g. ungraded primary programs, educational T.V., team teaching, learning laboratories, computer-assisted instruction, and modular schedules), educational voucher systems and performance contracts are examples of "institutional" and "structural" revolutions.

PARENTAL CHOICE

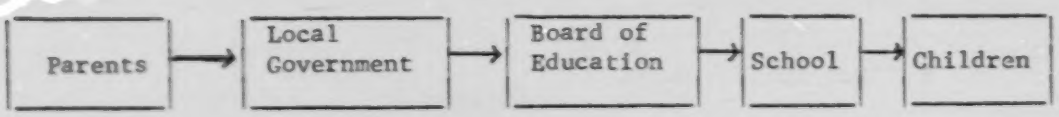
Parental choice is limited in this flowchart of the pre-voucher system to only a few possibilities:

A. The parent may remove his child from the school chosen by the board of education only if he has enough money to pay for a non-public school.

B. The parent may choose another public school by moving to another school district.

C. If the parent feels that the school tax is too high, he must move quite a distance to another taxing area.

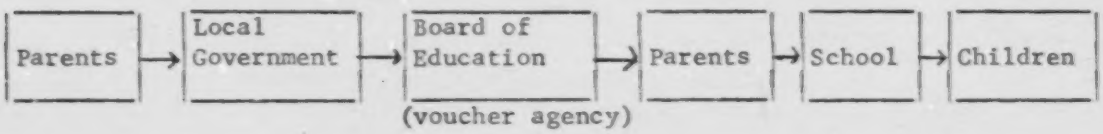
All three alternatives can be difficult for parents. Hence, the element of parental choice in a pre-voucher system is limited.



In the pre-voucher system, the influence of the parents is quite removed from the school itself. Since the school receives its money directly from the board of education, it obviously responds more to the board of education than to the parents. Similarly, the board of education receives its funds from the local government and obviously responds more readily to governmental pressures than to parental pressures.

In the voucher system, the structure is changed. The parents pay their taxes to the local government which gives it to the board of education (the voucher agency or an equivalent bureaucracy) which then gives to the parents an equalized purchasing power (the voucher itself). The parents then choose the school they want for their children. The school chosen receives its money and mandate directly from the parents. This begins to resemble the situation in the retail market where each customer pays for his purchases with his own money.

This can be presented in flowchart fashion:



Parental choice is increased in several ways:

A. The parent has a choice of schools under the voucher system; he is not constrained to send his child to a school chosen by the board of education.

B. The parent suddenly finds that he has just as much choice as another parent who earns more money, or who is richer, or who has less medical expenses.

In certain varieties of the education voucher, the parent is given still another choice. If he decides that he wants to have a higher priced education for his child, he can make a change in his tax rate which will increase the value of his voucher.

From the structural point of view, the board of education is more of a supervisory agency than a proprietor of schools. Its function is not to hire and assign teachers and principals, but to objectively measure which teachers and administrators and which combinations of staff produce the best results. Since there is

not as much ego-involvement in this evaluation, suspicions of favoritism are less likely to arise.

Similarly, the board of education as an education voucher agency does not tell the parents where and how their child must be educated. Its job is to assure that whatever school is chosen is really a school that meets at least minimum standards of educational attainment. The board of education will be in a position to make objective comparisons. Instead of limiting its role to watchdog of minimum necessary institutional standards, it could begin to talk of the excellence of school A with children who want to be teachers, the outstanding results of school B with children who need discipline, the encouraging gains in reading ability of school C with children who have been termed ineducable, the social gains made by school D with children who have been labeled elsewhere as emotional and social problems, the unequaled gains in math made in school E by children who seem to be interested in science.

These are but a few of the changes that constitute the structural changes both in the schools, in the boards of education or education voucher agencies, and in parental choice implicit in the typical education system.

Every educational structure has (a) a system of financing, (b) some access to public funds, (c) some parental choice, and (d) a bureaucracy. The educational voucher puts these together in a different structure.

The 1900's

Universal compulsory education and the introduction of occupational, technical, and industrial education meant the investment of capitol in schools had to increase. This increase soon exceeded Mann's initial concept and state governments were not long in recognizing the inequalities among school districts. School financing then moved toward equalization formulas designed to take from the "rich" and give to the "poor". This Robin Hood idea had its faults since living on the "wrong side of the tracks," if it were a school district boundry, could mean the difference between a child attending a school with a per capita expenditure of $450 or a school with a per capita expenditure of $1500.

The end of World War II saw a great middle class migration from the cities to the suburbs. This population mobility nurtured urban educational problems that were the incentive for the education voucher proposals of the 1970's.

The 1970's

Education that was satisfactory a few decades ago is perhaps not enough in the modern contemporary world. With people realizing and having to pay for the rising costs of education, students feeling the uneasiness and uncertainties of our times, and legislators demanding accountability for the funds expended toward education, mastery of the 3 R's is not sufficent. Educators are pressed to revitalize the learning process and to assure quality education for all desiring it.

Some approaches, by educators, for quality education took the form of modular schedules, individualized instruction, non-graded schools, team teaching, educational T.V., and education vouchers. While many innovations of the 70's have been tried on a pilot basis, some incorporated as on going programs, the education voucher is not yet experimentally verified.

Why an Educational Voucher System:

1. Disadvantaged vs Affluent

2. Competition vs Monopoly

3. Equalized Tax Dollars

4. Parental Choice

5. New Structures May Respond to Currently Unmet Needs

WHY AN EDUCATION VOUCHER SYSTEM?

In answer to the question, "What is an education voucher system?" the preceding analysis replied, "An education voucher system is (1) a bureaucracy regulated system (2) of financing education (3) that uses public funds and (4) parental choice (5) in a new structural relationship.

This involves so much change to schools, local school boards of education, and to state education agencies. It is proper to ask, "Why an education voucher system?" If the present schools, boards of education, and state education departments are doing such an excellent job in difficult circumstances.

This question can be answered if one follows the same four-fold analysis in the answer:

1 -- the bureaucracy regulated system provides special emphasis to equating the educational opportunities of all children whether disadvantaged or affluent

2 -- this financing of education encourages competition among all schools and avoids any possibility of a monopoly or of a monolithic approach to education

3 -- the use of public funds is distributed in a manner more equal than present distribution of state wealth and the tax is collected in a more equal proportion to actual parental wealth

4 -- parental choice allows the immediate consumer to make his own decisions as to which school his child attends and to how great a percentage of his income he wishes to sacrifice above a minimum standard of excellence for his child's education

Parental Choice -- When the parent of a child is not satisfied with the price or the quality of the clothes he buys for his child, he can shop around for better prices and for better quality. His choice is of course limited by his income and by his standards of what is minimum quality and of what is the importance of clothing to him personally.

In the current educational choice given parents, even such a minimum of decision power is lacking. Without the voucher, the parent must either send his child to a public school chosen for him by the board of education or he must pay the entire bill of a nonpublic school of his choice. The lower his income or the higher his expenses, e.g. medical bills, the less choice he has.

With a voucher system, the parent will be given "equalized family power," i.e. enough purchasing power to choose the kind of school he wants. He will decide if this money goes to the local public school or to a private school. The voucher agency (board of education with a few modifications) will not tell him where to send his child; it will devote its time to informing the parent on which school offers which advantages.

Such a system will be less committed to tradition and uniformity and more committed to results and the promulgation of research and objective data on the results actually obtained by a particular school or by a particular teaching method or by a particular group of teachers.

Similarly, the state education department will not have to spend its time specifying the requirements needed in terms of credit hours but in terms of the ability to make measurable improvement in the learning of a group of students.

Under a voucher system, dissatisfied parents will be able to do something concrete and definite to get results which satisfy them and their children.

Equal Distribution of Public Funds -- Without a voucher system, it is now possible to find the following type of inequality among tax rates and educational expenditures.

If two families live on opposite sides of a street which happens to be a dividing lines between school taxing districts, it is possible for one family to have a property tax of 5% and receive an education for each child which costs about $450 per capita while another family which pays a property tax of one half of one per cent will have its children receiving an education which costs about $1300 per child.

It is possible to document examples of this sort as well as other examples of what happens if the street which separates two families paying the same tax rate happens to be the dividing line for a school district. In this latter case, both families pay the same property tax for education while one family has its children educated in a modern up-to-date school with small classes while the other family has its children educated in an old and overcrowded school.

The reason for these discrepancies is not deliberate conspiracy. It simply happened that one school taxing district had great commercial or industrial wealth to tax while the other did not. Similarly, if a particularly school gets overcrowded, it is often merely due to chance patterns of parental change of residence.

The education voucher system wants to equalize the tax rate for all residents of a particular state or large geographic community. Then it will distribute this wealth equally per child to all families. These families in turn will choose the school which gives them the greatest promise of satisfying their educational expectations.

Competition Among Schools -- It is evident that in bus stations and on beaches where there is only one candy store that the price of things is often a few cents higher. In the large suburban shopping centers, the 10¢ candy bar which now sells for 15¢ on the beach can be bought for a bargain price of 3 for 29¢.

Proponents of the voucher system feel that the same thing will occur under the friendly competition offered by avoiding any possibility of monopoly. This is not merely a matter of cost cutting through inferior product. It is a matter of getting more education for each tax dollar spent.

Reading such men as Friedman and Jencks can easily give the following impression: Middle class parents are often paying the full $500 or $750 per year required for tuition in a private or parochial school, not so much for religious or sectarian reasons, but simply because they believe that their child is getting more education in this particular school than he would get in a public tax-supported school which costs the local board of education $900 or $1200 or even $1500 per student per year.

When such a parent receives an increase in his property tax to pay for an expanded school budget, he begins to make comparisons and to feel that he is paying twice for his child's education. Further comparisons make him feel that he is subsidizing a system that needs to learn how to produce more for less.

When a school realizes that it will get an expanded budget if it produces more educational results, it will find a way to do so. This is not so much for a profit motive, but simply from a natural desire to expand its usefulness. Financial rewards are not the complete solution to the need to stimulate new and better ways of educating all children, but it certainly does have its place.

Equal Educational Opportunity for Disadvantaged Children -- If a rich man has a child who learns very slowly in school, it is easy for him to hire tutors and special instruction. If a poor family has a brilliant but poor son, it is often easy to find some sort of scholarship especially if the child is unusually intelligent and a disciplined student.

The family that is really disadvantaged is the family that is poor, that has a child who is not interested in academic learning, who is not especially self-disciplined, who is behind in his reading ability, and who may also have emotional problems.

Such a child is disadvantaged many times over.

It is obvious that there are school which would pay to avoid such a child. Similarly, there are other schools which might be interested in accepting the challenge offered by such difficult pupils.

At the present time, schools such as Summerhill have developed programs which do seem to succeed with such difficult students. These schools have often been financed by foundations or by shoe-string budgets. It would be interesting to see what could be done by someone really interested in the challenge offered by the truly disadvantaged child.

Public educators have expressed publicly their fear that given a voucher system, nonpublic schools would try to take the cream of the crop for their specialty and leave the dregs of society for the public schools which would then become a school of last resort. This is indeed a possibility, but it is not definitely a necessity. It could mean that professional educators and perhaps all college graduates are not equipped intellectually, socially, emotionally, and pedagogically to face the special problems necessary to educate the disadvantaged.

Under a voucher system, it would be possible for anyone who is capable of demonstrating objectively that he can educate disadvantaged children to receive funds to operate such a school in any way he would wish. He might use people with only eighth grade diplomas, he might use retired persons, he might use educational television, he might use old movies, but whatever method he used, he would be obligated not to meet minimum teacher requirements but to produce minimum acceptable and measurable results with the disadvantaged persons he has chosen to educate.

The above example is a bit extreme but it does point out that the voucher system is not an attempt to pump more money into education, but an attempt to get more results per dollar.

Many of the results of the voucher system are predictable, but others are not. It is necessary to realize that much of the confidence of its proponents is not so much in its proven effectiveness which is still undemonstrated but in its power to unleash in education the effectiveness of the invisible hand of consumer effectiveness which insures the survival of a good product no matter how difficult it is to obtain and the eventual disappearance of an inferior product no matter how economical it may appear at first sight.

Certain voucher plans have attempted to offer an increment of 25 or 40% to the value of the voucher for a disadvantaged child in an attempt to make the education of a disadvantaged child more desirable. This seems to imply that certain teachers will make the extra effort to educate the disadvantaged if it "pays off" financially. On the other hand, it is equally possible that the voucher system will enable highly motivated but academically undiploma-carrying individuals to try their hand in educating the disadvantaged. Since the academically orientated college graduate does not always succeed here, it would be interesting to see what others can do in this area.

An Overview to "Why" the Education Voucher System -- At the present time, it is possible to note components of the voucher system in operation, namely, GI Bills and NDEA loans and tuition grants in higher education as well as a broader tax base being proposed for all education in such states as Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, and Rhode Island.

Questions raised by ungraded primary schools ("What do we do with a seven year old who has finished eighth grade math and is still only at the first grade level in reading?"), or by instructional television ("What do we do with Frank who has learned Spanish by watching College of the Airways on TV and yet is failing in Elementary Spanish because hedoesn't like his teacher?"), or by computer assisted instruction ("Tim seems to learn more from the machine that he does from his teacher!") invariably remind educators that a well run and orderly system often does not have room for the kind of excitement and noise that characterises learning in some children. It is equally obvious that what would work for a certain teacher with a certain student will not work with another teacher and with another student.

The education voucher system is an attempt to provide a comprehensive plan that can respond to all these changes rather than respond to each one of them by a piecemeal change of our present system.

Styles in education do change. There was once a time in the Renaissance when Latin was an exciting and living language before it became a dead language. Its vitality may again return. Similarly, in education, styles do change. In the summer of 1970, many women are undecided as to whether to buy "minis" or "maxis" for the fall. Hesitations abound in the spirit of Alexander Pope's dictum, "Be not the first by whom the new is tried nor the last to lay the old aside." In Michigan, the legislature has passed several news laws giving

sort of aid to all schools, public and nonpublic. However, everyone is waiting to hear from the Supreme Court on its constitutionality. The waiting is possibly costly and definitely imponderable. It could be costly since many parochial schools among others plan to close if the aid is not forthcoming; these pupils will then enroll in the public schools; however, the decision is not expected until the beginning of October while another State law specifies that public schools receive educational funds for only those students who are enrolled in the public school before September 25. It is very difficult to determine how the Supreme Court will go since it recently went quite heavily in the direction of state aid for all when it decided that the State to meet its constitutional provision of giving "free and equal" aid to all children for their education must pay for all school books, supplies, and materials including paper and pencils.

The Michigan proposal is not a voucher system although it does provide on a piecemeal basis a number of the components of voucher system : e.g. public funds financing parental choice of education.

Ten years ago, such an idea would not have had much of an audience. Now it seems to be just on the horizon. In the 1800's, it was assumed that the "natural, moral, democratic, and legal" thing to do was to have rich parents pay for the full cost of their children's education in private schools and for the poor parents to send their children to charity schools financed by these same rich parents and by voluntary offerings of others. Then Horace Mann came along and said that all property owners even those who didn't want to were to pay for the education of all children. This idea was opposed for a long time and caught on only in scattered locations until it became universal in the early 1900's.

PART TWO

HISTORY OF EDUCATION VOUCHERS

Documentation - The index of the typical history of education does not list anything under the word "voucher." In the ERIC thesaurus and in the CIJE (Current Index to Journals in Education), and in the Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature, listings under "voucher" are non-existent; specifically this refers to the period from January 1960 to July 1970.

Even the New York Times Index from January 1960 to June 1970 does not include "voucher" or "education voucher" in its listing in spite of the fact that several articles and letters to the editor have directly referred to the concept of the education voucher and also to its proponents and theorists : e.g. Dr. Christopher Jencks (Harvard), Dr. Thomas Glennan (OEO, Washington, DC), Dr. Charles Benson (University of California, Berkeley), John E. Coons, William H. Clune III, and Stephen D. Sugarman (three California lawyers), Milton Friedman (University of Chicago), and the New York State Commission on the Quality, Cost and Financing of Elementary and Secondary Education (the Fleischmann Commission).

A researcher looking for historical data on the education voucher might well find himself in the situation of an elderly history able to give the exact dates and circumstances about many a historical event. Once when challenged on why he was so certain of the exact date and cause of the Spanish American War, he merely replied, "I read it in the papers." To be up-to-date on the voucher system, it is necessary to read today's newspaper. Yesterday's may be already outdated.

HISTORY

What Is a Voucher? An education voucher is merely a piece of paper which enables the parents of a school age child to decide where he wants his child to be educated. He votes with this piece of paper; it is more than an application blank. The school gets more than his vote; it gets his money. To get his money, the school must win over the parent directly or indirectly through the learning and satisfaction of his child; the child is no longer a captive audience of a school chosen by someone other than his parents. To secure its operating funds, the school must think of others reasons for the student to come to this particular school than merely saying, "Your child is in our school district."

This is a descriptive definition of an education voucher as seen through the eyes of its proponents, e.g. Jencks and Glennan. Opponents of the education voucher who are equally well qualified would think of the above definition as little more than the result of rose colored glasses.

Probably both groups are right. Like all new ideas, the voucher is hard to conceptualize in "old" terms which do not do justice to its reality. A new idea is difficult to define because its boundaries and implications are not yet precisely laid out or even explored.

It might be good to look at the actual historical reality of the education voucher as it exists today before searching out its historical roots.

HISTORY

The Historical Reality of the Education Voucher in 1970 and an Operational Definition - There is no legally approved and operational education voucher system in operation as of August 1970. When an analysis is made of the great deal of newspaper and periodical publicity given to education vouchers, it all boils down to the theory developed by Jencks and to the plans being made by Glennan to begin the introduction of this idea into one or more school districts.

Theoretical Underpinings - Dr. Christopher Jencks, the Center for the Study of Public Policy, Harvard, is the master theoretician, the scholar, and the brain-stormer behind vouchers.

His scholarly volume, Education Vouchers, Financing Education by Grants to Parents, (March 1970), points out both the strengths and anticipated weaknesses of the voucher in the areas of (1) finance, (2) pupils, (3) schools, (4) demonstration projects, (5) first amendment, (6) racial integration, and (7) existing proposed state aid to non-public schools.

Operational Planning - Dr. Thomas Glennan, Director of Research and Evaluation, the Office of Planning, Research and Evaluation, OEO, Washington, DC, is doing his best to interpret the education voucher as researched by Jencks into a viable project.

His timetable makes the following projections into the near future : (school year, 1970-71) planning and thinking on implementation of the voucher system with qualifying school boards; (1971-72) earliest possible date for implementation of selected site or sites; (1976-77) the beginning of evaluation on the impact of the voucher system;

(1979-80) the time to decide whether or not to continue the education voucher.

Juridical Introduction of Vouchers - Private Wealth and Public Education by J. E. Coons, W. H. Clune III, and S. D. Sugarmann gives several specific examples of how selected court test cases can gradually and legally introduce most of the educational changes necessitated by a switch to the voucher.

As presented by these three authors, the education voucher is but another of the changes necessary in the American way of life to secure for all Americans the freedom and equality envisioned in the U. S. Constitution. Like all legal constitutional and governmental changes, this change will take much time and much legal effort to insure its effectiveness and its legality.

Operational Definition - As of August 1970, the education voucher is an educational innovation in the funding and in the control of education. It has been thought out by Jencks, it has been publicized and advterized by Glennan, and it is in the process of being legalized by Coons, Clune, and Sugarman. As of August 1970, it is not yet an experiment in actual operation, but it is an experiment that is being developed and prepared for study in order to see if it is possible to bring about educational progress by manipulation of the purse strings.

HISTORY

What Does the Education Voucher Imply? - In highly centralised systems, one can often find varieties of the following story. "The people liked the new bridge. Soon they felt that they needed a guard to protect it. They hired a guard. They then hired someone else to supervise the guard to avoid the possibility of the guard leaving his post for an illegal rest. And just to be sure they hired another supervisor to avoid any collusion between the guard and his inspector. It then became necessary to hire an accountant to make out the paychecks. To house the whole staff and to keep order, a superintendent was necessary as well as an office. After a janitor and a maid had been hired to clean the office, a secretary was added to the staff to take care of the paperwork. However, the people began to complain of the high cost of this project. It was then decided in a meeting between the supervisors and the superintendent to fire the guard in order to save money."

Over-eager proponents of the voucher sometimes seem to imply parallels between existing local boards of education and the bridge bureau personnel. They want to eliminate all the middle men and get back to direct parental influence. It doesn't take too much reflection to realize that the safeguards and counter-checks necessary for a fair and equitable voucher system will gradually if not suddenly develop a bureaucracy of its own.

Thus, it would be a gross over-simplification to say that the education voucher is merely a different way of getting money to purchase education of higher quality with less money and with more equality for all students even though this is what proponents of the voucher want.

HISTORY

A Point of View on Education Vouchers - It seems evident that the education voucher involves some change in the habitual way of thinking about and operating local educational agencies as well as local boards of education and state education departments. This is not an unanticipated development. Taking the long philosophical view of education, Alfred North Whitehead opened his Aims of Education with the idea that educational theories and practices which once gave excitement and challenge to young boys and girls in the classroom can with the passing of time lose their passion and their enthusiasts. This is why even the best educational establishment must change and revitalize itself to remain relevant to its society. Before it became a dead language, studying Latin in school was once quite exciting in the Renaissance. Latin did not change however much it did transform the society of its day; the very changes brought about by our present school systems have produced the necessity for still other changes of which the education voucher is a prime example.

People tend to desire change when they are discontent with the present situation. Often, they want rapid results, as well as low cost results. When something doesn't please them, they want someone to blame. In a cost-conscious economy, they want to know who pays, how much one pays, to whom one pays, and who will control the spending. It would seem to be like this with the proponents of the voucher system and with the proponents of its historical antecedents.

HISTORY

HISTORICAL HIGHPOINTS and ANTECEDENTS OF EDUCATION VOUCHERS

Changes in Society - As far as financing and structuring is concerned, it is possible to distinguish three historical periods during which the antecedents of the education voucher began to emerge. For simplicity, they can be enumerated as (1) the 1800's, (2) the 1900's, and (3) the 1970's.

The 1800's - If Horace Mann were to read the New York Times and to come across the words, "public schools, private schools, and parochial schools," he would most probably scratch his head in confusion for even his ideal of the "common school" was quite different from the 20th century conception of the comprehensive high school. His fight was not for money for private education but for money for the common school movement which was to begin slowly as a result of his efforts. His opponents said, "It is immoral, it is not right, it is unconstitutional to make schools a function of government whether local or state or national for this would mean that schools would have to be supported by tax dollars. This would mean that taxpayers without children in school would be paying for the schooling of the children of others many of whom did not pay any taxes at all."

This is exactly what Horace Mann wanted. He realized that the social upheavals brought about by the industrial revolution meant that the children of factory workers did not have the same chance for an education as the children of rich farm and factory owners. The urban hordes were too large in number to depend for their education on the charitable donations of the rich.

Mann had addressed his appeals for redistribution of educational wealth to the states, but the units that responded to his

call were local communities. They responded with local boards of education that tried to equalize the local wealth. This was a slow process but by the 1900's, it was generally accepted that it was moral, legal, and democratic to use public money to establish tax-supported schools for all students who wished to attend.

The goal of these schools was not a college diploma, nor a high school diploma, nor even a grade school diploma. The goal was the basic ability to read, to write, and to account. Since education was considered something of a luxury, the idea of compulsory attendance was yet to come.

HISTORY

The 1900's - The educational scene of the early 1900's as seen through the eyes of E. P. Cubberley reveals several resounding trends. Between 1870 and 1900, the cost of education doubled. In certain prosperous communities, the tax rate for education went down while the per capita expenditure per student actually went up. In certain less prosperous communities, the tax rate for education went up while the per capita expenditure per student was less than that of communities with a lower tax rate for education. Many communities with a large school population found themselves priced out of the field of adequate education.

The idea of universal compulsory education meant more children in school for a longer period of time. The introduction of occupational, technical, and industrial education meant the investment of capital in materials much more costly than textbooks and blackboards.

The contrast was no longer between the rich and the poor but between the middle class and the poor. The rich continued to support exclusive schools. The middle class gradually found that living in the suburbs gave them a school that could often be a few pegs above the crowded city school. In the early 1900's the city school systems rose to great heights that lasted until the 1950's. At that time, these same academically orientated programs little by little moved from the cities to the suburbs with the resulting dissatisfaction that moved James Conant to write Slums and Suburbs.

HISTORY

In other parts of the country, the middle class achieved the near equivalent of a private school segregated racially by the establishment of two school systems, "separate but equal" theoretically but definitely more separate than equal in actual practice.

State governments were not long in realizing the obvious inequality between school districts. State aid often took the form of equalization formulas designed to take from the rich and to give to the poor. This Robin Hood ideal did not work out in practice since living on the wrong side of the street (if it were a school district boundary) could mean the difference between going to a school with a per capita expenditure of $450 or to a school with a par capita expenditure of $1500.

In the early 1960's, educators tried a number of approaches to revitalize the learning process : modules, individualized instruction, non-graded schools, programmed instruction, educational TV, large and small group instruction, team teaching, discussion seminars, and other innovations designed to increase quality education.

The goal of these modifications was not merely a high school diploma. As traced out by Jacques Barzun in The House of Intellect, college education, a high school diploma, a good job, a cultured life, social status, intelligence, the ability to make money, and social power were all mingled together. The man in the street who lacked one or more of these invariably gave as his excuse, "I didn't get enough education." In the 1900's, this was often accepted as the full explanation.

HISTORY

The 1970's - A hungry man wants food. While he is hungry, all he wants is food. Once he is fed, he begins to want other things with equal urgency. It's the same thing with education, once a man or woman learns to read and write, other demands are made on the educational system. Satisfaction in our modern age of mass media is not so much a matter of minimum attainment; it is much more the ability to get a little bit ahead of the others.

In other words, an education that was satisfactory a few decades ago is perhaps not enough in the modern contemporary world. With cybernetic data processing, inequalities in school financing can be determined in a few seconds with the pushing of a computer button. If a parent finds out that he is paying a higher school tax rate for education and that less total money is spent on his child on a per capital basis than is done in a school district with a lower tax rate, he will understandably be upset. He will want to do something about it, and he will want results fast.

When Jencks speaks of education vouchers, when Friedmann speaks of parental choice and market values, when Glennan speaks of new structures, and when Coons, Clune, and Sugarman speak of family power equalizing, they are all addressing themselves to the same idea : they want to give each family rich or poor the same power to choose a quality education for its children and they want to shift the decision-making about the consumption of educational services more directly into the family unit. Their attempted solution is not yet experimentally verified, but it seems to be an outgrowth of the developments in American education during the past two hundred years.

Summary Chart of Selected Historical Artecedents of the Education Voucher

Dimension	the 1800's	the 1900's	the 1970's
RELEVANT SOCIAL CONDITIONS	the industrial revolution	mobility from automobile and airplane	mass media and computer orientated society
TARGET OF SCHOOL TAXES	first willing and then unwilling taxpayers	private property and business property	individual incomes according to an "effort" gradation
PRIMARY SOURCE OF EDUCATIONAL WEALTH	parent wealth and charity wealth	local wealth and state aid	state wealth and federal wealth
POPULAR CONCEPT OF EDUCATION	reading, writing, and arithmetic	high school education leading to a job	education to the limit of one's ability
THE LARGEST EDUCATION POPULATIONS	country and rural families moving into the cities	big cities and towns	cities and suburbs
PROMINENT PIONEERS	Horace Mann	E. P. Cubberley	C. Jencks and T. Glennan
SEMINAL LEGISLATION WHICH MUSHROOMED	Morrill Acts	Trade, Industrial, and Technical Education	G. I. Bill
PROMINENT AREAS OF INEQUALITY	agricultural communities and the South	segregated and slum schools	disadvantaged youths
DOMINANT FINANCIAL INFLUENCE ON THE SCHOOL	rudimentary budget and basic expenses	salaries and local tax base and equalizing formulas	cost accounting and invisible hand of parental choice and "equal opportunity"
TYPICAL GRATUITOUS ITEMS IN THE SCHOOL	the schooling itself	textbooks, buses, and lunches	all items exceeding the family's ability to pay

HISTORY

A Few Historical Generalizations About the Antecedents of the Education Voucher - After a trip or a vacation, the traveler begins to recall only certain selected portions which stand out in his mind. It is the same with the present historical review. Here are a few of these generalizations that give the tone of the historical antecedents of the education voucher in the history of American education.

(A) Low Level Decision Making - The American Constitution spelled out the position of State's rights (for many things the State Government is preferred over the Federal Government. A natural outgrowth of this attitude has been the tendency to prefer School Districts over State Government decisions in the area of educational policy and practice.

A recurring term, "subsidiarity" is coming into usage to express this concept. Such words point out the local suspicion that State and Federal aid in attempts to make schools "equal" will do no more than make them "similar" and definitely "less free." State and Federal money has always been welcome, but the accompanying safeguards attached to these funds are not.

(B) The Invisible Hand of Profit and Open Market - Although the individual is ready to seek out a bargain, he is leary of promised "free" gifts which often carry an invisible price tag. Although it is accepted that fiscal equality of all schools will solve some problems, much more reliance is placed on the necessity of an opportunity to work and to sacrifice. Even in the area of social welfare, people want money and need it, but the money seems to do more personal and social good if is received through a job rather than through an outright gift.

This is exemplified in the words of Adam Smith :

> Man has almost constant need for the help of his brethren, and it is in vain for him to expect it from their benevolence only. He will be more likely to prevail if he can interest their self-love in his favour, and show them that it is for their advantage to do for him what he requires of them. When we seek a bargain of another, we address ourselves, not to their humanity but to their self-love, and never talk to them of our own necessities but of their advantages.

A proponent of the voucher system will thus stress the power he gains over the school when each parent will be able to give or withdraw his voucher and its cash value according to how satisfied with the quality of the education accorded to his children.

Opponents of the education voucher are well aware of the power accorded to parents with the education voucher. It is unfortunate that advocates of the voucher have not spent more time specifying the advantages existing public and private schools will draw from the competition the voucher will introduce.

HISTORY

Historical Summary - Education has always been a personal affair which implies a certain amount of independence. American education has also added the two ideals of freedom and equality.

FREEDOM OF CHOICE
NO EQUALITY

Before the common schools supported by tax dollars, there was always a certain amount of choice. Unfortunately, there wasn't too much equality since the poor did not have much choice.

EQUALITY
NO CHOICE

In the 1800's, the opening of common schools introduced a certain amount of equality. Any child who wanted to could go to the nearest public school; however, he didn't have much freedom since the school was chosen for him by his school district.

CHOICE
NO EQUALITY

In the 1900's, the proliferation of private schools for which the parents paid the tuition gave a much wider choice to the middle class. The families unable to pay were given less equality on two counts : they had no choice of schools open to them; the classmates of their children were not able to learn from children siphoned off to private schools, many of whom were academically orientated and disciplined.

NO EQUALITY
NO CHOICE

Students in the inner city or in segregated school districts found themselves assigned to a particular school which really was not equal to others within a few miles of their own home.

EQUALITY OF CHOICE

It would be naive to expect that all parents with the family equalizing power offered by education vouchers and similar systems will make good choices for the education of their children. However, the goal is to first provide equality of choosing power and then to provide enough information to enable every parent to make a wise choice.

HISTORY

The Crystal Ball and Future Shock - In the preparation of this historical summary, several documents were read. Among those in the forms of letters from various organisations, it was interesting to notice two things : (1) many organizations, the American Jewish Congress and the New York State School Boards Association among others, were definitely opposed to the education voucher; (2) other organizations, the National Catholic Education Association and the New York State Council of Catholic School Superintendents among others, were in favor of the education voucher but only under the provision that their endorsement was for experimental reasons, "We don't endorse it, but let's see what happens."

Most of the opponents of the voucher system seemed to think that it could only undermine the wonderful work achieved by the present public school system which was more than ever in need of fiscal support. Proponents of the experimental aspect of the voucher system seemed to think that if vouchers were successful this would mean automatically a flow of money into their system by means of the parents of their present students.

Surprisingly enough, neither system seemed to think of a third alternative. Could it be possible that a national or statewide network of television and other mass media instructional devices would flood the market, captivate the children and parents with modern means of advertizing and teaching methods with the almost hypotnetic effectiveness of Sesame Street? This is a possibility. With such a step into the future as vouchers and other financing alternatives, it is necessary to be constantly aware of the alternatives to present dichotomies.

The Three Different Climates for Accountability

1800's	1900's	1970's
— industrial revolution	— automobile and airplanes	— cybernetics
— willing tax dollars for education followed by unwilling tax dollars	— unequal proportions of household income offset the property tax and increased state aid	— some people think income rather than property tax should be used to finance education
— a modest educational budget	— flat grants and extra funds to education	— the invisible hand of finance that gives and takes
— parent wealth — charity wealth	— local wealth — state aid	— state wealth — state aid
— education cost something	— educational costs rising	— educational cost accounting
— agriculture	— cities	— cities vs suburbs
— Horace Mann was the big name	— Cubberley was the big name	— Jencks and Glennan dominate the scene
— the big difficulty was finding places where schools could exist and be supported	— the attacks switched to improving slum schools and helping integrate non-integrated schools	— right now, people want the disadvantaged to catch up
— significant legislation began with the Morrill Acts	— significant legislation included the Smith Hughes Act	— various catch-up legislation tried to imitate the GI Bills
— one of the main sources of finances was the local tax dollar	— in order to get more money for education, equalizing formulas were used	— in order to stress equal opportunity, educational vouchers are now seriously being considered

1800's	1900's	1970's
—the main goals stress the 3R's	—the goals of this era stress compulsory education needed for all students as well as the minimum core of required courses	—educational goals are being translated into objectives rather than into specific courses and specific time requirements
—the main theme was a free school for the poor	—the main theme was textbooks, buses, and free lunches for all learners who need them	—the theme now is for free education according to one's need and according to one's ability to pay

PART THREE

JENCK's PROPOSAL

The most succinct and authorative summary of Jenck's proposal is found in his volume, Education Vouchers, pp. 13-17. Rather than attempt to summarize this document, it is referred to below and followed with a commentary designed to stress its distinctive traits according to the definition given above of an education voucher system.

Jenck's titled this section himself, "A Model Voucher System."

A Model Voucher System

(pp. 13-17 of Jencks)

Dimension One -- Bureaucracy Regulated

Jencks speaks of the Education Voucher Agency (EVA) as a definite means of control in any education voucher system. At the present time, there is no EVA in existence, but its functions as spelled out by Jencks can be studied under its legal, fiscal, and administrative aspects.

Legal Aspects -- Jencks is particularly general in his specifications of the EVA. He feels it may be either elected or appointed in its membership; he feels this will depend a lot upon local and state governmental circumstances. He is not necessarily advocating a replacement since a local board of education or even a state education department may fulfill the functions he specifies for the EVA; that is why he is open to either geographically small or large EVA's. However, for experimental purposes, he feels that the concept of EVA should be tested with only one specification : the student population under the EVA should be over 200,000 pupils.

Jencks realizes that this may involve many law changes and that in certain localities, this may result only in legislative permission to experiment for a year or two or three. Again, he feels that such EVA's should not be called into existence until local, state, and constitutional permission is obtained for a legal existence of at least five years.

Bureaucracy

Fiscal Aspects -- The EVA will be the legal recipient of all local, state, and federal funds destined for the education of the children within its jurisdiction. Similarly, it will be charged with dispensing these funds to the appropriate educational agencies; this will include educational services such as transportation and school supplies. Again, local variations will determine exactly what is managed by EVA. In the case of Michigan, we see that such school supplies as paper and pencils are according to Supreme Court decision the concern of the state education agency since they must be paid for by the State for each child so as to assure a "free and equal" access to education.

Indirect Power of the Pursestrings - As studies of Title I funds have shown, resources intended for the poor do not always reach the poor for a number of reasons. In a voucher system, the method of distribution would prevent this from happening since the funds would follow the child and his parents who would in turn choose the appropriate source of education.

This gives the EVA an enormous amount of power to "zero in" on a very specific target since it is so easy to follow each tax dollar expended in a particular program.

Bureaucracy

Administrative Aspects -- In addition to its function of distributing funds directly to families, the EVA will have as its function the safeguarding of certain conditions which insure equality for all children. More of our educational resources should be available for the disadvantaged child. There should be at least as much mixing of all races, of all economic levels, of all intelligence and ability levels as is found in the present educational systems. Advantaged and disadvantaged parents should have the same chance of getting their children into a school chosen by them. All parents must have access to information necessary to an intelligent choice; this information must be screened and promulgated. There must be no conflict with the Fourteenth Amendment which prohibits racial segregation and no conflict with the First Amendment which treats of the separation of church and state.

This would give rise to the following bureaus in a minimum education voucher system: reception of funds, committees for the discovery of a just formula of distribution, distribution of funds, protection of the disadvantaged child, racial equality, social level mixing, differential ability mixing, a bureau of investigation of school conditions, a bureau of publicity of the same information, parental guidance bureaus, an investigation bureau to avoid de jure racial segregation, an investigation bureau to make sure that religious activity is not funded with voucher funds.

The above administrative functions are only indicative of the type necessary to assure legal functioning of the EVA; there are many more possibilities.

Dimension Two -- System of Financing

Since the EVA will be working with public funds, there will be many procedures necessary to assure the legal power, the fiscal solvency, and the administrative efficiency of this operation.

Legal Aspects -- Jencks specified that no public money should be given to private schools.

This may be a bit confusing until one understands Jencks' precise definition of "public" school. At the present, certain schools are called public schools because they are run by the public authorities. According to Jencks, the proper definition of public school is a school that is open to the general public.

Thus, any school that wishes to participate in Jencks' voucher system must open its doors to all applicants and in effect become a public school in this sense of the term.

Jencks does not think that a formerly public school will begin thinking of itself as a public school, but he does push the idea that public school is a term that should properly refer to the population served no matter who administers the school. This does not seem to be the current legal understanding of the term public school when it occurs in contemporary legislation.

System of Financing

Fiscal Aspects -- The EVA would issue to each school age child a voucher worth the per capita pupil expenditure for the public schools in the area. Vouchers issued for disadvantaged children would receive additional payments in an attempt to make-up for what they have missed academically or socially. This is something the EVA would have to work out on its own system of equality through a complex equalization formula.

In its effort to equalize the opportunity of choice available to each child, Jencks has various alternatives. To obtain equality of educational results, Jencks above advocated a form of social restitution, i.e. spending more money on the disadvantaged to make up for what they have missed in many areas. To obtain equality of educational choice for the parents according to their willingness to sacrifice for the education of their child, Jencks advocates a differentiated formula of taxation. The parent who wants his child to receive the highest caliber of education will pay a higher tax rate on his salary and possessions; this will apply to both rich and poor parents. Those who are satisfied with a lesser standard of excellence of expenditure will pay a lower tax rate.

This attempt to equalize the effects of varying parental wealth is something that is not spelled out exactly by Jencks.

Basically, the EVA will receive all public money for education. Then, it will distribute it to the students who will in turn give it to the schol of their choice. The "sacrifice" principle of the last paragraph gives an idea of how complex all this input and output can become even before the money starts coming in.

System of Financing

Administrative Aspects - Theoretically, the EVA is simply the pipeline for the money from the public funds to the students. However, this implies that the student has chosen his school which then collects the vouchers when then submits them to the EVA for funds.

Since it would work a hardship on the local educational agencies to operate for a long time without funds, Jencks has proposed the idea of enrolling each student approximately six months before the beginning of school. This would mean that for September enrollment, students would begin to make their decisions in the spring. This would in turn mean that the EVA be ready to operate at least six months in advance of that. There would be two major EVA activities : (1) publication of objective information that would facilitate intellegent parental choice and (2) preparation of the vast amount of paperwork necessary to get a voucher in the hands of each child of school age.

Once this activity were completed in late spring, the EVA would then have to re-adjust its funds to account for two variables : student change of choice and the definite probability that certain schools would fill up very rapidly and not be able to take all applicants. This would then in turn give rise to a just and equitable system of choosing among the surplus applicants. To this would of course be added the usual change of address and residence problems that mean additional paperwork as usual and the unforeseen transfer of funds that would occur only under the voucher system.

Dimension Three -- Uses Public Funds

Legal Aspects -- Public funds will necessarily involve public control to avoid such legal difficulties as would arise from the use of public funds in education that fostered segregation by race or economics, by religion, or by other criteria.

Community control of public education will have a distinctly indirect aspect under the Jencks' proposal. Instead of the community receiving the money directly and telling the parents how their child is to be educated, the parents will receive the money directly from the EVA and the parents will then tell the local schools how they want the money spent for their child's education.

Jencks is not opposed to the existence of local boards of education; in fact, such existing boards as are willing to change their function would easily qualify for the tasks of EVA. Instead of owning and operating the public schools as now defined, they would be in the business of making sure that every school that received public funds was indeed open to the general public.

In large urban areas, integration would eventually be attainable by the formation of schools on bases which which cut across racial and economic differences. For example, in a school which specialized in musically talented students, it would be assumed that enough applicants from all races and social classes would provide an ideal mix. As a matter of course, the students here would not be conscious of their racial mix but merely of their common bony of unity, the love of music. This would seem to obtain an integration much more productive of racial and social harmony than that obtained by court orders and standards of compliance.

Uses Public Funds

Fiscal Aspects -- Although it is not a requisite of all voucher systems, the Jencks' proposal presupposes that in all participating schools the voucher will be accepted as full payment for all educational services contracted between the parents and the school.

Jencks feels that this will provide for efficiency and competition. Plausibly, the competitive system would be able to give more educational services and output per dollar of input than under current institutional arrangements.

However, Jencks also allows for a degree of parental sacrifice. For example, if a parent definitely wants his child to attend a school where the per capita expenditure is much higher than the average, it would be expected that he would be taxed for education at a higher percentage of his income. In this way, the parent rich or poor who is really interested in sacrificing for his child will be equally taxed according to percentage.

Uses Public Funds

Administrative Aspects -- Obviously, all schools who receive and use public funds even indirectly as under the Jencks' proposal must be able to keep a set of books that can be open to public inspection as part of their public accountability.

The following would be the administrative functions as envisioned by Jencks in the use of public funds :

a- Accept the voucher as full payment of tuition; this would mean adjusting the budget accordingly in the case of nonpublic schools;

b- accept any applicant as long as it has vacancies;

c- if the school receives too many applicants, it must select at least half of these applicants randomly and the rest in such a manner as not to discriminate against any ethnic minority;

d- accept uniform standards regarding student suspension and expulsion;

e- agree to make available a wide variety of information necessary for EVA evaluation and for objective presentation of school data to facilitate parental choice;

f- be able to cost account every item of its program so that in the case of nonpublic functions, it would be able to prove that no public funds were used to support these nonpublic activities;

g- meet where applicable existing state requirements in such things as curriculum, staffing, and the like.

Dimension Four -- Uses Parental Choice

Legal Aspects -- Before the law, both rich and poor parents have the same opportunity to choose the school they want their child to attend. However, since the economically deprived parent simply doesn't have enough money to choose anything other than the public school, his choice has no practical consequences.

Jencks feels that the educational voucher will effectively and legally give poor parents the same opportunity now available to wealthier parents who can move to neighborhoods with "better" public schools or send their children to high-tuition private schools.

Without a complicated maneuver, this would allow parents to assume a more active and significant role in shaping their child's education. Similarly, this would renew the family's role in the educational process and would result in the concomitant desirable impacts on the attitudes of both parent and child.

Thus, Jencks feels that without the burden of equal rights legislation, this installation of the educational voucher would effectively achieve the desired goal of equality of all parents and children before the law.

Uses Parental Choice

Fiscal Aspects -- Jencks envisions two choices for each family : (1) To which school shall I send my child with his voucher? and (2) How much (what percentage) of my income shall I sacrifice to pay for my child's education?

Under such a system of equalized family power, these are really incisive questions since the parent and not the local board of education is making the decision on how these funds will be spent.

Uses Parental Choice

Administrative Aspects -- Once the local board of education or EVA is freed from the directing influence of the local tax referenda, it will be able to concentrate on its new task of providing expert information to parents.

a- Parents must be made aware of all the available alternatives

b- Parents must be able to obtain accurate, relevant, and comprehensive information on the pro and con of each possibility.

c- Parents must have access to counselors who can explain the information to those in need of supplementary explanations.

d- Parents must be protected from misleading advertizing claims made by schools eager to obtain additional students.

e- Parents need EVA support to investigate claims of fraud, discrimination, and deception.

With the above administrative services, the EVA is in a true position to give real decision power to the family unit.

Dimension Five -- In a New Structural Relationship

When Jencks proposes to set up a new relationship between the parents and their choice of schools, he has several goals in mind : more creativity in education, more variety in the style and content of school offerings, and more experimentation on the differences that result from such an increase in variety.

Legal Aspects -- Present regulations in education do not foster the development of radically new approaches. The education voucher would, by fostering smaller and more individualized approaches to curricula, allow more freedom in this area.

In a way, this would appear to be a sort of segregation by educational philosophy, but it would give educators the opportunity to develop and experiment ideas that do seem to have promise.

Even in large private school systems such as parochial schools, individual financing by vouchers would free them from the control of a larger central agency. For example, parochial schools financed by the Catholic Church obviously have much similarly based upon the common origin of their funds. If such schools, with the backing of voucher system, were funded directly by the parents, even in such a centralized system, one could expect much diversity. Thus, the voucher would give an even broader spectrum of choice which in turn would probably produce significant diversification.

In a New Structural Relationship

Fiscal Aspects -- The flow of money in the voucher system as opposed to the performance contract, for example, is given in a general and global way. In a performance contract, the agency under contract must produce specific results in a specific period of time to receive its money. If the results are not forthcoming or are not produced in the specified period of time, then the agency hired will receive only a portion of its funds.

The Jencks' proposal takes a different tack here. It feels that certain aspects of education cannot be measured by objective instruments exclusively. Their criteria must be something a bit more subjective even though does have some objective basis. Thus, the voucher system advocated by Jencks has chosen parental satisfaction as the basis of payment or non-payment. This is a fairly good rule since their is a certain amount of involvement of the parents in the education of their child.

Thus, the funding found under the voucher system takes on a more global, all or nothing, kind of payment. In sharp contrast with this, the payment under the performance contract is much more specific in its contractual demands and specifications.

In a New Structural Relationship

Administrative Aspects -- Jencks is not unaware of possible opposition to his voucher system by teacher's unions, school administrators, and other groups.

However, he feels that this is merely more of an identity crisis than actual opposition to his plan. He feels that each of these groups concerned is ready for a change of function with its increasing involvement.

Thus, for the boards of education, Jencks does not propose extinction but a change of function. As an EVA, the board of education will not own or operate its own school; it will begin to assume the roles of supervisor, leader, evaluator, and publicizer of all schools open to the general public.

PART FOUR

Problems Inherent in All Education Voucher Systems

As a concept, the idea of an education voucher system is quite innovative and promising of results in augmenting parental choice in the selection and improvement of education.

However, when one begins to work out the specifics of operation, numerous difficulties arise.

The following section considers these difficulties under three headings : legal difficulties, fiscal difficulties, and administrative difficulties.

Legal Difficulties

1-- None of the basic voucher systems spells out exactly what will be the legal status of the EVA.

a--If the EVA is elected, it will definitely represent the majority viewpoint.

b--If the EVA is appointed, it will definitely represent the minority viewpoint.

2-- To achieve a racial mix and to stress the education of disadvantaged children, the EVA needs a sample student population of 200,000 to operate.

a--Yet in the smaller sections, where the voucher will be in operation in great numbers, there are very limited opportunities to make sure that the voucher system does not become the means of establishing and financing de facto segregated schools.

b--The voucher system provides no more safeguards against incroachments of the 14th and 1st amendments than do present school boards.

3-- When one examines all the technicalities of a typical voucher system such as Jencks, it really boils down to making all participating nonpublic schools equivalent to public schools in their legal and fiscal structures.

Legal Difficulties

4-- Child Welfare -- Parallel to Medicine -- In the field of medicine, the child's health is protected by a number of laws which are regulated and managed by doctors. No one would think of turning over the hospitals to people not regulated by a profession or by doctors. Similarly, in the field of education, the parent and child are protected from bad decisions by a team of specialists, professional educators.

5-- Equality of Rich and Poor Child -- The education voucher is designed to give the rich and poor the same opportunity to educate their children. However, it can be argued that no matter how much laws try to equalize the situation, there will always be ways for the child of really wealthy parents to provide a much more expensive education.

6-- Lack of Commonality -- If each school is allowed to experiment with its curricula and course offerings, it will be very easy to have a situation where the simple act of parents changing their residence from one part of the country to the other will result in a complete disruption of their child's education. This will involve such things as transfer of credit (a quasi-legal problem) and the necessity to fulfill required courses.

7-- Experiments That Fail -- Certain of the innovative experiments anticipated by the voucher system will inevitably lead to a certain amount of failure. What will be the legal recourse of those parents whose children have actually wasted a year in an ill-fated experiment?

Fiscal Difficulties

1-- Misuse of Funds -- If the voucher system places the collection of funds, and their apportionment into a new system based upon a concern for parental choice, there is still a new problem to consider. This is the problem of corruption, misuse, and outright fraud.

2-- Another Set of Bureaucrats -- No matter how honest, no matter how well regulated, there is still another pressing problem for the EVA. Its new set of administrators and Bureaucrats will cost money. This will in turn either cost more money for the same results or it will further dilute the education purchased by each tax dollar.

3-- Who Draws Up the Tax and Apportionment Formulas -- It will be the job of the EVA to decide the tax rate and to decide on who gets more money; for example, perhaps more money to orphans, disadvantaged, or minority or discipline children. No matter how these formulas are drawn up, there will always be interminable struggles and complaints.

4-- Removal of the Helping Hand of Charity -- Public education as well as private education, both secondary and higher, depends upon the private charity of many individuals. Even if the voucher system equates the amount of state public money to both public and private schools, there is no inherent provision in the voucher system to keep private donors from thinking that there is no longer any need for their contributions. Indeed, the increased taxes and the increased publicity may well dry up private donors.

Fiscal Difficulties

5-- The Profit Motive -- The goals of education are quality education no matter how high the cost or the sacrifice. The goals of big business are cut expenses and raise profits. With reputable business men, there will always be the idea of "a dollar's worth of value for a dollar of cost," however, it will be very difficult to police all agencies entering into the educational scene for a combination of motives. Especially with the long-term and immeasurable results of education, a few dollars worth of profit-cutting can do irreparable harm. There is also the idea that the dollars which produce the greatest amount of educational results are the dollars which are tacked on to the average amount spent by other schools. These will be the very dollars cut by even honest profit-minded businesses in education.

6-- Vouchers as Full Payment -- This is a noble concept, but it seems doomed to failure. Even schools fully public and fully free have developed all sorts of fees and fund collection drives. It is to be expected that similar plans will evolve under the voucher system since the competition for dollars will be all the more severe.

7-- The Uninterested Parent -- It is difficult to predict the reaction of parents when confronted with the opportunities in the voucher system. However, parental disinterest as well as parental child abuse is a reality; there is no inherent safeguard in the voucher system to prevent such events from occurring.

Administrative Difficulties

1-- Unmanageable Paperwork -- The idea of a voucher system is quite good, but the paperwork involved in the system is quite large even if we consider merely the issuance of a voucher to each child of school age. Since each piece of paper represents money, there are the additional problems of payment, when to make the payments, and how to divide up the funds when they come from a variety of sources.

2-- Which Priority -- The goal behind the voucher system was that of stimulating and assuring parental choice. However, given the the volume of money involved here, it is easy to imagine the situation where the mere mamagement of money takes priority over other considerations.

3-- Transfer of Funds -- If the vouchers were merely checks good for a certain amount of money, it would be quite easy to pass them around. But, the idea of a voucher involves the idea that if the parent is not satisfied, the money will move with the child to another school. It is the same thing if a child is changed, except that now he takes with him a certain per cent of the school budget. All of this will involve complications beyond the merely clerical. If funds are committed on a changing enrollment, then the mere closing of a factory and the moving of the families could place a school in an insurmountable financial position.

Administrative Difficulties

4-- Matching Costs to Available Funds -- It is hard to conceive of a school saying, "We don't need all the money brought to us by each child. Therefore, send us only 80%." The more normal thing would be for a school with a low per capita cost to find other legitimate ways to spend its budget. This would seem to eliminate the desirability of providing education for a lower cost. Similarly, a schooi which spent money in long-range goals might be penalized in comparison to a school which spends all its money in short-range goals and neglects long-rang planing.

5-- Independence from Local Tax Referenda -- Getting their money directly from the parents will give parental choice of school a lot of freedom from local authorities. However, it can be equally argued that this will result in a certain amount of beneficial local control in the form of public hearing, tax bond issues, and the like.

6-- Can the Parents Choose? -- This is a moot question. The same parents who control the TV watched by their children will be choosing the type of school. Supposedly, the type of school is more important. Yet, even in the realm of TV, we find much dissatisfaction with the choices made by parents. Sometimes, it is the child who decides which show the family watches; this might explain the ratings system which has become a popular scapegoat. Again, it can be remarked that a theoretical strength of the voucher system can easily become a perennial weakness.

ANNOUNCING...

THE EDUCATOR'S HOW-TO-DO-IT

ACCOUNTABILITY EVALUATION KIT

With this kit, an educator can:

- ☐ Visualize....
- ☐ Explicate....
- ☐ Evaluate and account for....
- ☐ Incorporate....
- ☐ Affirm....
- ☐ Seek....

ANNOUNCING...

THE EDUCATOR'S HOW-TO-DO-IT
ACCOUNTABILITY EVALUATION KIT

With this kit, an educator can:

- ☐ Visualize the macro-data and micro-data available on program effectiveness.
- ☐ Explicate this data to taxpayers
- ☐ Evaluate and account for the entire school program as a matter of routine
- ☐ Incorporate taxpayers' constructive criticisms and suggestions
- ☐ Affirm an obligation to account to taxpayers
- ☐ Seek progress in:
  - o testable areas
  - o less testable areas

ANNOUNCING...

THE EDUCATOR'S HOW-TO-DO-IT ACCOUNTABILITY EVALUATION KIT

KO	PO	AO
Visualize the macro-data and micro-data available on program effectiveness Explicate this data to taxpayers	Evaluate and account for the entire school program as a matter of routine Incorporate taxpayers' constructive criticisms and suggestions	Affirm an obligation to account to taxpayers Seek progress in: o testable areas o less testable areas
KE	**PE**	**AE**
Keep track of all that is going on Anticipate and answer all public inquiries clearly and accurately	Update all standarized results and program parameter continuously Report to taxpayers on a regular basis	Attest the quality and performance of school system Support all claims with easy to examine data
KR	**PR**	**AR**
Map out the entire testing program Redefine all curricula into smaller and more measurable segments called objectives	Establish testing dates, anticipated norms, and comparative baseline gains scores Set up a variety of ways to communicate with taxpayers	Take an interested and open-minded approach to constructive criticism Search for ways and means to evaluate successes in "affective" areas

ORDER FORM

To get this kit, an educator completes steps one through eight on this order form. The educator retains one copy and mails one copy to

Howard P. Alvir
Room 468 EBA
New York State Education Department
Albany, New York 12224

STEP 1. KIT MAILING LABEL:

This kit is to be mailed to:

STEP 2. KIT VERSION:

This kit is to contain the versions indicated with an "X"; e.g. [X] :

VERSION

- ☐ elementary school (ES)
- ☐ secondary school (SS includes ES)
- ☐ community college (CC includes SS)
- ☐ four-year college (FYC includes CC)
- ☐ external degree (ED includes FYC)
- ☐ graduate school (GS includes ED)

STEP 3. KIT FORMAT:

This kit is to be communicated in the formats indicated with an "X":

FORMAT

- ☐ printed (short length)
- ☐ xeroxed (longer length)
- ☐ self-tutor (smaller steps)
- ☐ master teacher (larger steps)
- ☐ dialogue (telephone consulting)
- ☐ workshop (visit to school site)
- ☐ microfiche (all the above formats)

STEP 4. KIT PRIORITY:

This kit is to contain material reflecting the circled priority ranks

PRIORITY RANK	PRIORITY
1st 2nd 3rd 4th 5th 6th	Visualize the macro-data and micro-data available on program effectiveness.
1st 2nd 3rd 4th 5th 6th	Explicate this data to taxpayers
1st 2nd 3rd 4th 5th 6th	Evaluate and account for the entire school program as a matter of routine
1st 2nd 3rd 4th 5th 6th	Incorporate taxpayers' constructive criticisms and suggestions
1st 2nd 3rd 4th 5th 6th	Affirm an obligation to account to taxpayers
1st 2nd 3rd 4th 5th 6th	Seek progress in: • textable areas • less testable areas

STEP 5. KIT OBJECTIVES:

This kit is anticipated to be used for the purposes and objectives indicated:

KO	KNOWLEDGE OBJECTIVES
PO	PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES
AO	ATTITUDE OBJECTIVES

STEP 6. KIT EVALUATIONS:

This kit is subject to the criteria and evaluations indicated:

KE	KNOWLEDGE EVALUATIONS
PE	PERFORMANCE EVALUATIONS
AE	ATTITUDE EVALUATIONS

STEP 7. KIT RESOURCES:

This kit is expected to furnish the resources indicated:

KR	KNOWLEDGE RESOURCES
PR	PERFORMANCE RESOURCES
AR	ATTITUDE RESOURCES

STEP 8. LOCAL DEFINITION

Accountability is defined locally (or personally) as:

DEFINITION OF ACCOUNTABILITY